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Source: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1964), pp. 97-101

Published by: [The American Schools of Oriental Research](#)

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# THE KASSITES AND NEAR EASTERN CHRONOLOGY

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The sequence of thirty-six kings whom the historical tradition of the Babylonians calls "Kassites"<sup>1</sup> has not come down to us in its entirety in any one source. The historian must try to reconstruct it by combining various sources. The classical king list, known as "king list A"<sup>2</sup> furnishes the names of the kings 1–6, and after a gap (in part or whole) those of the kings 24–36. For kings 1–4 and 22–36 also the number of years they reigned is preserved. The names of the kings 16–23 have securely been recovered<sup>3</sup> from chronicles and contemporaneous sources like the Amarna letters and above all from the authentic inscriptions of the kings themselves.<sup>4</sup> Of great value for the correct restoration of the dynasty are the filiations contained in the latter.<sup>5</sup> The

Amarna letters furnish welcome synchronisms, especially with Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

For a long time scholars believed that the names at least of the kings 7–13 had also been regained. The source for so narrowing down the remaining gap was the so-called "Assyrian synchronistic list" published from photographs by E. F. Weidner;<sup>7</sup> it allegedly contained the names of kings 1–13. More recently, however, F. R. Kraus located the original in the Museum of the Ancient East in Istanbul and his collation showed that some of Weidner's readings are untenable. Thereupon the latter withdrew his decipherment of the crucial part of the text in question (end of col. i).<sup>8</sup> Thus, the problem of how to restore the earlier part of the Kassite dynasty is posed anew.

As far as the first eight names are concerned the two available sources agree fairly well. We have in

1. The title *šar Kaššī* "king of the Kassites" or *šarru Kaššū* "Kassite king" appears in the inscriptions of Agum (kakrime) and Kara-indaš respectively. It reminds us of the phrase *erīn Ka-aš-šu-ū* in the date formulae of Samsu-iluna 9, Rīm-Sin II b (Çiğ-Kızılyay TTK Belleten 101, 1962, 38f.), Abi-ešuḫ d (Goetze JCS 5 99).

2. Last copy by C. J. Gadd: CT XXXVI pls. 24 and 25.

3. See above all F. Thureau-Dangin, OLZ 1908 275 and RA 24 (1927) 183f.; E. F. Weidner, JSOR 6 (1922) 121–7 and AfO 3 (1926) 74; furthermore Kemal Balkan, TTK Belleten 48 (1948) 723–57. — For the kings No. 28–32 who need readjustment see H. Tadmor, JNES 17 (1958) 136f.

4. The available material is quoted by Faisal el-Wailly in Sumer 10 (1954) 43–54 and more recently and more completely by K. Jaritz in MIO 6 (1958) 187–265.

5. [Kadašman]-Ḫarbe *mār* Kara-indaš: Chron. P i 5 (collated by Delitzsch, s. F. H. Weissbach, Bab. Misz. p.4 fn.6.) — Kuri-galzu *mār* Kadašman-Ḫarbe: BE XIV 39 8; BM 91036 (= King, Bab. Boundary Stones No. 1); BM 108982 (= CT XXXVI 6f.) and dupl. BIN II 33 (see A. Ungnad, AKF I 29ff.) i 1ff. — Burna-buriaš *mār* Kadašman-Ellil: BE I 68 (s. F. Thureau-Dangin, OLZ 1908 275f.). — Kuri-galzu *mār* Burna-buriaš: BE I 35, 36, 39, 133; PBS XV 49, 51; BIN II 15; Kudurru MDP II p. 93f. (= W. J. Hinke, Sel. Bab. Kudurru Inscr. No. II). — Nazi-maruttaš *mār* Kuri-galzu: BE I 53, 55, 56, 58, 75 + 136 + 137, 78; BE XIV 39 9; PBS XV 53, 54; Kudurru MDP II p. 86ff. (= W. J. Hinke, Sel. Bab. Kudurru Inscr. No. I). — Kadašman-Turgu *mār* Nazi-maruttaš: BE I 61 (cf. ZA 7 305–18).

## King List A:

- (1) <sup>1</sup>*Gan-daš*
- (2) <sup>1</sup>*A-gu-um* ŠI<sup>9</sup> A-šū
- (3) <sup>1</sup>*Kaš-til-iá* <-šū> ŠI<sup>10</sup>
- (4) <sup>1</sup>*UŠ-ŠI* A-šū<sup>11</sup>
- (5) <sup>1</sup>*A-bi-rat-taš*
- (6) <sup>1</sup>*UR-zi-U-maš*
- (7) [<sup>1</sup>.....]x<sup>12</sup>
- (8) [<sup>1</sup>.....]

## Synchr. List:

- <sup>1</sup>*Ga-an-du-uš*
- <sup>1</sup>*A-gu-um* ŠI<sup>9</sup> A-šū
- <sup>1</sup>*Kaš-til-a-šu*
- <sup>1</sup>*A-bi-ra-taš*
- <sup>1</sup>*Kaš-til-a-šu*
- <sup>1</sup>*UR-zi-gu-ru-ma-áš*
- <sup>1</sup>*Ḫar-ba[-ši-]ḫu*
- <sup>1</sup>*Ti-ip-ta-ak-zi*

6. Kara-indaš and probably (see Thureau-Dangin, OLZ 1908 445) Thutmosis III (EA 10 8ff.). — Kuri-galzu and (Thutmoses IV and) Amenophis III (EA 3 9ff.). — Kadašman-Ellil and Amenophis III (EA 1–5). — Burna-buriaš and Amenophis III (EA 6) as well as Amenophis IV (EA 7–11).

7. First (as "Assur 4128", i.e. the photo number) in Die Könige von Assyrien (MVAeG 26, 1921) p. 13ff. and plates after p. 66, later in a revised form (as "Assur 14616c", i.e. the inventory number) once more in AfO 3 (1926) 66–77.

8. AfO 19 (1959/60) 138.

9. i.e. *mahrū* "the first".

10. This reading follows A. Poebel, AS 15 (1955) 40.

11. In AfO 3 (1926) 74 fn. 4 A. Ungnad proposed to emend this line to *Kaš-til-a-šū*; this is not unlikely. — The second Kaštil(y)ašu does not figure in Agum's list of ancestors (see presently) and must therefore have been a brother of Abirattaš.

12. The remnant at the end may indicate a -[z]i. The

The ninth name in the "synchronistic list" however is not *A-gu-um* as Weidner had formerly assumed; F. R. Kraus' collation rejects the initial *a* as well as the final *um*, only the medial *gu* stands. One had expected, and still expects, *A-gu-um* because of K 4348+,<sup>13</sup> the copy of an inscription of a king [*A-gu-um*] *ka-ak-ri-mi*, who traces back his genealogy, generation by generation, to UR-*ši-gu-ru-maš*, *A-bi-r[u-ut-taš]*, *Kaš-til-a-šu*, *A-gu-um rabūm* and finally to Gandu. The mutilated condition of both king list A and the synchr. list prevents us from knowing whether this Agum — as is likely — was mentioned, immediately, or in some later place, after Tiptakzi.

Agum, the king of the inscription K 4348+, claims titles which in part recur with Karaindaš (king No. 16), the first Kassite who has left authentic inscriptions. Both kings call themselves *šar Kaš-ši-i* "king of the Kassites" (or *šar Ka-aš-šu-ú* "Kassite king") and *šar (māt) Bābil* "king (of the land) of Bābil". On the other hand Agum's title (*šar*) *Ak-ka-di-i* "king of the Akkadians" is expanded with Karaindaš to *šar Šumer ù Akkad* "king of Šumer and Akkad" which may indicate a spread of Kassite rule to the south of Lower Mesopotamia,<sup>14</sup> presumably still controlled by the dynasty of the Sea-Land in the days of Agum. Karaindaš styles himself for the first time *šar Ka-ru-du-ni-ia-aš* "king of Karuduniyaš", a title which seems to replace Agum's *šar māt Pa-da-an ù Al-ma-an* "king of the land of Padan and Alman".<sup>15</sup>

From the point of view of chronology it is significant that the inscription of Agum deals mainly with the return of Marduk and his consort Zarpānitum to Bābil and Esagila after a sojourn abroad. This must no doubt be combined with the information furnished by the tablet K 3353+<sup>16</sup>, namely, that Marduk had lived for 24 years in

order of 7 and 8 may have to be reversed in one of the texts.

13. For a bibliography see K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958) 228f.; add Kemal Balkan, TTK Belleten 48 (1948) 733f.

14. It is well known that Kara-indaš built in Uruk (see J. Jordan, Vorl. Bericht Uruk 1 (1930) 30ff.). The façade of his Innin temple has been pictured in almost all histories of art.

15. On Arman and Padan see the literature quoted JNES 12 (1953) 118. — The title *šar Ka-ru-du-ni-ia-aš* (in this spelling) recurs in BE I 43, the inscription of a *Ku-ri-gal-zu*; as far as datable the later inscriptions write *Ka-ra(-an)-du-ni-ia-aš*.

16. H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934) 79ff.

the land of the Haneans.<sup>17</sup> From these data the conclusion is to be drawn that Agum (II) ruled Bābil 24 years after the Hittites under Muršiliš I had conquered the southern metropolis<sup>18</sup> and was able to liberate its chief deities whom the conquerors had abducted.

There is no reason whatever for rejecting the historicity of Agum II and, therefore we feel justified in counting him as Kassite No. 9.

This leaves the places 10–15 still, or rather again, open.

To fill this gap attention should be called to three groups of Kassite kings of whom we have record but whose place in the dynasty still remains to be determined.

(a) Firstly, there is Burna-buriaš who, according to the "Synchronistic History"<sup>19</sup> (i 5f.), concluded a treaty with Puzur-Aššur of Assyria.<sup>20</sup> After the complete king list of Assyria has been recovered<sup>21</sup> we know that this Assyrian king is separated by three generations (and seven kings) from Aššur-bēl-nišešu. The latter, we again learn from the "Synchronistic History" (i 1ff.), had entered into a treaty with Karaindaš of Bābil, i.e. Kassite king No. 16. It is fair to assume that the two Babylonians, as their Assyrian partners, were separated by three generations, or at least by two generations.

(b) Secondly, the available material forces us to posit another group of Kassite kings in which again a Burna-buriaš figures, namely:

Burna-buriaš<sup>22</sup>

Kaštiliaš, son of Burna-buriaš<sup>23</sup>

Agum, son of Kaštiliaš.<sup>24</sup>

17. Kemal Turfan, Sumeroloji Araştırmaları 1 (1941) 974f. (cf. AfO 15 129; CR de la Seconde Rencontre Assyriologique 102); C. J. Gadd, *ibid.* (1951) 70f.; B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 65 fn. 160; A. Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) 65.

18. For references see BASOR 122 (1951) 22.

19. K4401a+ (CT XXXIV 38–43); recent translation: F. Schmidtke, Aufbau der babylonischen Chronologie (1952) 84ff.

20. Previously this Burna-buriaš had been placed immediately after Agum II. K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958) 208f. stated correctly that Burna-buriaš, contemporary of Puzur-Aššur, could not be Kassite No. 10.

21. 'Khorsabad' list and duplicates: A. Poebel, JNES 1 (1942) 247–306; 2 (1943) 56–90; I. J. Gelb, JNES 13 (1954) 209–30.

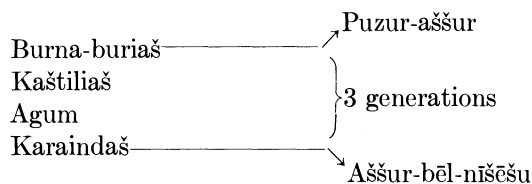
22. The view that this is the Kassite No. 10 cannot be accepted without further evidence. See presently.

23. The evidence for this filiation is indirect. The "Chronicle King" (L. W. King, Chronicles Concerning

The "Chronicle King" (see fn. 23) relates that Ulam-buriaš, Kaštilia's brother, defeating Ea-gāmil, king of the Sea-Land, made himself king of that country. Thereby the Sea-Land dynasty (also called "Second Babylonian Dynasty") came to an end.

The synchronism thus established is important because the end of the Sea-Land dynasty can be approximately calculated. We have, first, reason to assume that Agum (II) took control of Bābil 24 years after the end of Samsu-ditāna brought about by the onslaught of the Hittites, — a period of time during which Gul-kišar was king of Bābil.<sup>25</sup> We must further assume that the second half of the Sea-Land dynasty (after Gul-kišar) ruled the 120 years with which King List A credits it, plus 22 years for the king [...] *-en* who has been omitted in King List A, but appears in Weidner's synchronistic list and is required because of the otherwise faulty sum of years.<sup>26</sup> On these two assumptions the end of the Sea-Land dynasty by the hand of Ulam-buriaš came 166 years after the end of Samsu-ditāna. We possess no testimony that Ulam-buriaš ruled as king of Bābil; he may have marched on the Sea-Land on behalf, and during the lifetime, of his father Burna-buriaš. One may even suspect that it was the resulting increase in Bābil's power which formed the background of, and the reason for the treaty between Puzur-Aššur and Burna-buriaš.

All this leads to the following reconstruction of the Kassite king list between Puzur-Aššur and Aššur-bēl-nišešu:



Since Karaindaš is Kassite No. 16, the kings

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Early Babylonian Kings II, 1907, 15-24 and 121-7) mentions (rev. 12) *Ū-lam-bur-aš*, the brother of *Kaš-til-iā-aš māt Kaš-šu-ū*. We have also an inscription of *Ū-la-bu-ra-ri-ia-aš mār Bur-na-bu-ra-ri-ia-aš šarri šār māt tāmti* (F.H. Weissbach, Bab. Miszellen p. 7f., No. 3). If the reasonable assumption that *Ū-la-bu-ra-ri-ia-aš* and *Ū-lam-bur-aš* are identical is correct Kaštiliaš must also have been a son of Burna-buriaš.

24. "Chronicle King" rev. 14.

25. A. Goetze, JCS 11 (1957) 66.

26. F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 24 (1927) 182.

preceding him in Bābil have to be Nos. 15, 14 and 13.

(c) The third group, finally, consists of:

Kuri-galzu

Meli-šihu, son of Kuri-galzu

(no titles given). It is provided by the inscription on a lapis disk numbered 6378 in the inventory of the German expedition to Babylon and published by F. H. Weissbach in his *Babylonische Miszellen* (1903) under No. II (p. 2ff.). There seems to me no valid reason to eliminate these two Kassites from the king list;<sup>27</sup> the fact that they bear no titles in the inscription is not sufficient for doing so; titles are omitted on quite a number of these lapis disks.

The only question which remains is whether they should come immediately before Karaindaš (Kassite No. 16) or between Agum (II) (Kassite No. 9) and the group dealt with here under (a)/(b). The synchronism between Burna-buriaš and Puzur-Aššur of Assyria does not allow for Kuri-galzu and Meli-šihu in addition to Kaštiliaš and Agum in the 3 generations between Puzur-Aššur and Aššur-bēl-nišešu. Hence the second alternative must be preferred and the pair Kuri-galzu and Meli-šihu be counted as Kassites No. 11 and 12 or No. 10 and 11. In the first case, No. 10 is still missing, in the second, however, No. 12.

If the reading *Bur-na-b[ur-ia]-aš* in the "Synchronistic list" (obv. i 19) stands,<sup>28</sup> this may be the missing name. Then Burna-buriaš would have to be No. 10 and Kuri-galzu and Meli-šihu Nos. 11 and 12.

However, this may be, the Kuri-galzu mentioned under (c) — in that case Kassite No. 11 — will have to become Kuri-galzu I. The question then will arise as to whether this is the founder of Dūr-Kurigalzu, the new Kassite capital. The assumption is *a priori* likely. One can hardly imagine that a man like Karaindas, whose building in Uruk<sup>29</sup> commands our admiration, and who corresponded on equal terms with the contem-

27. As Weidner, AfO 19 (1959/60) 138, referring back to AfO 16 (1952/3) 24 wants. Weidner who at that time still upheld the old readings of the "Synchronistic List" had no space left for the two names. Contrast F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 23 (1927) 197 with fn. 1 and F. H. Weissbach, *Reallex. der Ass.* 1 (1931) 372.

28. See E. Weidner, AfO 19 (1959/60) 138: "bleibt weiterhin wahrscheinlich".

29. See above fn. 14. Furthermore F. R. Kraus, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Villiği* 5 (1952) 75-82.

porary pharao, ruled from a place other than Dūr-Kurigalzu. The archaeological observations made at that site — modern 'Aqar-qūf<sup>30</sup> — are all in favor of that notion.

The Kassite palace there, buried in the Tell al-'abyaḍ, reveals the following archaeological levels:

7.50m–5.50m <sup>31</sup> IA	Destroyed by fire. Tablets of Marduk-apal-iddina (No. 34). <sup>32, 33</sup>
5.50m–4.30m IB	(no dating clues).
4.50m–3.00m IC	Destroyed by fire. DK 4–57 = IM 50966 <sup>34</sup> : letter from a Hittite king. <sup>35</sup>
	Beneath pavement: door socket DK 3-142 (Iraq Suppl. 1945, pl. VIII fig. 9): Kuri-galzu. <sup>36</sup>
2.55m–1.90m II	Tablets of Kaštiliaš (No. 28) and Kudur-Ellil (No. 26). <sup>37</sup>
1.90m–1.00m III	Poorly preserved tablets. Macehead DK 3-26 (Iraq Suppl. 1945, pl. XXVf., fig. 27f). <sup>38</sup> Door socket DK 3-144 (Iraq Suppl. 1954, p. 13): <sup>39</sup> Kuri-galzu (No. 18 or 22).
1.00m–0.00 IV	Upon top pavement Nuzu Ware. <sup>40</sup> Founding of the palace by a Kuri-galzu.

Virgin soil

30. The excavations were conducted by the Directorate General of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq under the direction of Taha Baqir. Preliminary reports appeared in Iraq, Suppl. 1944 and 1945; also Iraq 8 (1946) 73–93.

31. These figures are taken from the "section" given on plate 9 in Iraq Suppl. 1945.

32. Kassite king No. 34, ca. 1180.

33. Iraq Suppl. 1945 p. 9 and fig. 24.

34. Iraq 8 (1946) 89f.; top floor, see fig. 10 on level marked "5". Photo: *ibid.* fig. 13 (pl. 18).

35. Since Level II is securely dated to Kaštiliaš (Kassite No. 28) and Kudur-Ellil (Kassite No. 26), the first of whom was a contemporary of Tukulti-Ninurta of Assur (who defeated him), the tablet must of course come from the very end of the Hittite Empire and must have been sent to Bābil after Tukulti-Ninurta in turn had been murdered.

36. His titles are *lugal.kalag-ga/ lugal.ki-en-gi,uri-bi/ lugal.an.ub-da* "mighty king, king of Sumer (and) Akkad, king of the (four) quarters". This seems to refer to Kuri-galzu, son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe (Kassite No. 18), or conceivably to Kuri-galzu *seḫru*. However this may be, the stone must have been reused; cf. Iraq Suppl. 1945 p. 15. It was found on a level higher than tablets of Kaštiliaš and Kudur-Ellil.

37. Iraq Suppl. 1945 12f.; one of them is published by O. R. Gurney, Iraq 11 (1944) 131ff., as No. 6. *Ibid.*

The presence of "Nuzu ware" in the upper reaches of level IV is of particular significance for the chronological problem. The range given for this characteristic pottery — which M. E. L. Mallowan introduced 1939 into archaeology under the name "white painted Subartu pottery"<sup>41</sup> — extends elsewhere from about 1500 to 1250 B.C.<sup>42</sup> The sherds from 'Aqar-qūf are certainly older than the youngest examples recorded from Kār-Tukultinurta near Assur, older also than Aḡana II (and III?).<sup>43</sup> The best clue for the absolute date of the white painted ware is still provided by Nuzu itself<sup>44</sup> where it is associated with tablets of Sauštatarā of Mitanni (ca. 1450). The examples from 'Aqar-qūf seem to me slightly younger than those from Nuzu. In terms of the Kassite dynasty this means the time of Karaindaš (king No. 16).

According to the stratigraphy of Tell al-'abyaḍ<sup>45</sup>

p. 10 it is stated that the deposit was sealed in. These are kings No. 28 and 26. That tablets of Šagarakti-šuriaš (king No. 27) are missing, can only be due to accident.

38. It bears the inscription *é.gal x-x-ri Ku-ri-gal-zu* (which should, as usual in such cases, refer to a king named K.). Stylistically the piece with its animal files, rosettes and its guilloche is related to Mitannian glyptic and would fit best in the middle of the second millennium.

39. The description indicates that it was found in situ. The "faint" inscription contains, according to Iraq Suppl. 1945 p. 13, the titles "the mighty man, king of Sumer and Akkad."

40. Iraq Suppl. 1945 p. 11 and fig. 26.

41. *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* II (1939) 887–894.

42. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Twenty-five Years of Mesopotamian Discovery* (1956) 35f. See also *apud* Thureau-Dangin, RA 36 (1939) 26f.

43. B. Hrouda, *Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien* (1957). Hrouda (l.c. 21) employs the sherds from 'Aqar-qūf for gaining a date "um 1340" for them. However, this is based on the — as will be shown presently false — premise that Kuri-galzu, son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe, was the founder of Dūr-Kurigalzu.

44. R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* II (1937) pls. 78f.

45. It is a great pity that we are not given reliable information on the provenience of the tablet IM 50059 (sic!) = Iraq 11 (1949) 133ff., and photo on pl. 40; the document is dated to the 4th year of Kadašman-Turgu (Kassite No. 24). The note (p. 142) "room 15, foundation level" leaves us puzzled; what is "foundation level"? If level IV is meant, how can king No. 24 have left tablets on a lower, i.e. earlier, level than kings No. 26 and 28 who are said to date to level II? Does "foundation level" mean (as in the temple area) level I?

the founding of Dūr-Kurigalzu, therefore also the lifetime of Kurigalzu I, falls a sufficient time before that date to account for close to 1 meter of debris. This excludes identifying Kuri-galzu, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, (king No. 18) with the founder of Dūr-Kurigalzu.

This result is supported by estimates one can propose for the time of Karaindaš (Kassite No. 16),<sup>46</sup> for Burna-buriaš (Kassite No. 13)<sup>47</sup> the contemporary of Puzur-Aššur, and thereby also for Kuri-galzu I. The chronological frame between the fall of Bābil by the hand of the Hittites and the Amarna Age is as follows:<sup>48</sup>

Absence of Marduk from Bābil	24 years
Kassites No. 9-12/13	
= second half of Sea-Land dynasty	144 years
Kassites No. 13-15/16	
= span between Puzur-Aššur and Aššur-bēl-nišešu of Assyria (i.e. three generations)	ca. 60 years
Kassites 16/17-19	
(i.e. two generations)	ca. 40 years
Total	ca. 270 years

This should bring us down to one of the years of pharaoh Amenophis III (1433-1366, according to Hayes).<sup>49</sup> The conclusion, then, is that Muṣili's campaign against Bābil took place around 1650 B.C.<sup>50</sup>

We should calculate the average length of the individual reigns and the average length of the generation resulting from the proposed reconstruction:

				Average reign:
Kings 1-4	4 kings	68 years	17 years	}18+
Kings 5-19	15 kings	288 years <sup>51</sup>	19+ years	
Kings 20-28	9 kings	147 years	16+ years	
Kings 29-36	8 kings	73 years	9+ years	
Kings 1-36	36 kings	576 years	16 years	

46. Karaindaš is a contemporary of Aššur-bēl-nišešu of Assur, and in all likelihood also of Thutmose III of Egypt (EA 10 8ff.) whose reign has been dated most recently (Hayes in Cambridge Ancient History, new edition) 1504-1450; 1460 is a very conservative estimate for the contact between Egypt and Babylonia. Cf. also Hildegard Lewy, *Mél. Isidore Lévy* (1955) 275ff.

47. Three generations before Karaindaš.

48. See A. Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957) 53-61, 63-73.

49. Cambridge Ancient History (new edition).

50. Cf. A. Goetze, *BASOR* 127 (1952) 21-26.

51. This time span is arrived at by deducting the sum of 68 (kings No. 1-4), 147 (kings No. 20-28) and 73 (kings No. 29-36), that is 288 years from the overall length of the Kassite dynasty given as 576 years in king list A.

				Average generation:
Kings 1-4	3 generations	68 years	23- years	
Kings 5-19	12? <sup>52</sup> generations	288 years	24 years	
Kings 20-28	7 <sup>53</sup> generations	147 years	21 years	
Kings 29-36	? <sup>54</sup> generations	73 years	?	

Dating the fall of Bābil to 1530, as Albright<sup>55</sup> and Cornelius<sup>56</sup> assume, would cut down the interval for which above ca. 270 years were calculated to about 130-150 years. He who follows Sidney Smith<sup>57</sup> and Hildegard Lewy<sup>58</sup> in dating the same event to 1595 or thereabouts, would cut down the interval to about 195-215 years.<sup>59</sup> It must be left to the reader to decide whether either of these solutions can be accepted, indeed whether either can be considered as possible or even thinkable.

52. The number given implies that king No. 12 represents a generation. This is by no means certain.

53. The filiations of kings No. 21-24 are given above fn. 4; the others may find their place here: Kadašman-Ellil (No. 25) is a son of Kadašman-Turgu according to KBo I 10 (see H. Tadmor, *JNES* 17, 1958, 139f.; E. Edel, *JCS* 12, 1958, 130-33; M. B. Rowton, *JNES* 19, 1960, 16ff.). Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27) is said to be a son of Kudur-Ellil (No. 26) in the inscription Nabonidus No. 1 (VAB IV 218ff.) iii 28ff.; this confirms King List A ii 6. Kaštiliaš (III) (No. 28) is attested as son of Šagarakti-Šuriaš (No. 27) by BE I 70 (see H. V. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca* 89 fn. 2). The assumption that Kudur-Ellil (No. 26) is a son of Kadašman-Ellil's (No. 25) depends on King List A where the reading might be doubted. Now, the year count for kings No. 24-28, when added up (18 + 11 + 16 + 13 + 8), yields only 66 years, and even when 11 is replaced by 15 (*JCS* 13 5) and 13 by 18 (*Jaritz*, *MIO* 6 200) only 75 years for allegedly 5 generations. This is suspiciously low; the number of generations should be reduced to four. In the circumstances I count for kings No. 20-28 only 7 generations.

54. Kings No. 29-32 may all belong to one generation. Adad-šum-nāšir was a son of Kaštiliaš III according to the inscription on the dagger Foroughi No. 1 (*Iranica Antiqua* 2, 1962, 151 and pl. XIII).

55. Most recently *BASOR* 146 (1957) 33.

56. *AfO* 17 (1956) 309.

57. Alalakh and Chronology (1940); *CR de la Seconde Rencontre Assyriologique* (1951) 67-70.

58. *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de Phil. et d'Hist. Orientales et Slaves* 13, 1953 [publ. 1955]) 241-91.

59. The solution of Albright-Cornelius necessitates a brutal shortening of the overall length of the Kassite dynasty, and that in the face of all the warnings expressed against such a procedure. The solution of Sidney Smith-Hildegard Lewy results in dating back the Kassite invasion to the early years of Samsuiluna of Bābil; cf. A. Ungnad, *Die Venustafeln und das neunte Jahr Samsuilunas* (*MAOG* 13/3, 1940)